/7 cont./

133
[126]

/footnote 1 continued/ investigation and of all the cartography of this study.

Moreover the term lacks precision. It indistinctly indicates the slope and its piedmont. In the landscape this slope is neither continuous nor unique. When one looks at the Atlas from the route from Mogador to Marrakech, a little beyond Chichaoua, or, better still, when one observes it from the camel pasturage of the Lmjjûn, in Ud Bessabâ^{c}, one perceives a first ripple running in the vanguard: in the present case it is that of Talamenzu. This defense along a preliminary rampart is accentuated as one goes toward the E. It is striking from several points along the imperial route long before and long after Marrakech. At the height of the Seksawa, on the other hand, from Chichaoua to Bul^{c}wân, there is no denivellation. This is what the S.-N. descent of the thalweg of the river indicates, which is accompanied on its right as well as on its left by divergent séguias /water conduits/, some common to the Seksawa, to the Dwiran, and to the Ud Bessebâ^{c}. This solidarity, or this continuity, is not without incidence. The same lay of the land rises again, a little more to the W., toward another "bouche" /mouth, opening/, that of Imi n-Tanut, commanding the access to the Sous by the Tizi Umachchô and the Bwibaun. The old sultanian route makes use of it after having skimmed over the Dir from E. to W. (2).

(489)

2. One can find an already considerable mass of information on this itinerary in E. Renou, Description géographique de l'empire du Maroc /Geographical description of the empire of Morocco/, 1846, pp. 187, 190, 204, which condenses a great number of travel accounts.

000 Let us imagine the Mussulman traveler of the thirteenth century coming from Fès /Fez/ or Andalousie /Andalusia/ and whom the lure of trade or the quest of knowledge

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 17]

1: Berque--15 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/8/

102
103
131
133
489
361

1: Rerque--16 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

102
103
131
133
484
361

19/

Fig. 2. -- The orographic cadre of the Seksawa.

/14 cont./

184 804 stronger reason, intertribal pasturages. The shepherd's measure is not that of the village horticulturist; it is hardly that of the citizen. If one wanted to subtilize, one would also contrast to this measure of honest people that of the mule tracks, that of the military expedition. The latter disregards the beaten paths, arrives in lightning fashion, having crossed forests and escarpments. In the recent period a great warrior, Caïd Lmokhtar of the a. Lh'sen, would be a man of these unforeseen events, of these topographical lightning flashes, one might say. Measure of the shepherd, measure of the warrior: these variants, the one enlarging, the other taking up to excess Seksawa space, have their value as indices of the individual psychology and the social rhythms; one can eliminate them, however, in a careful analysis based on a certain civic constancy.

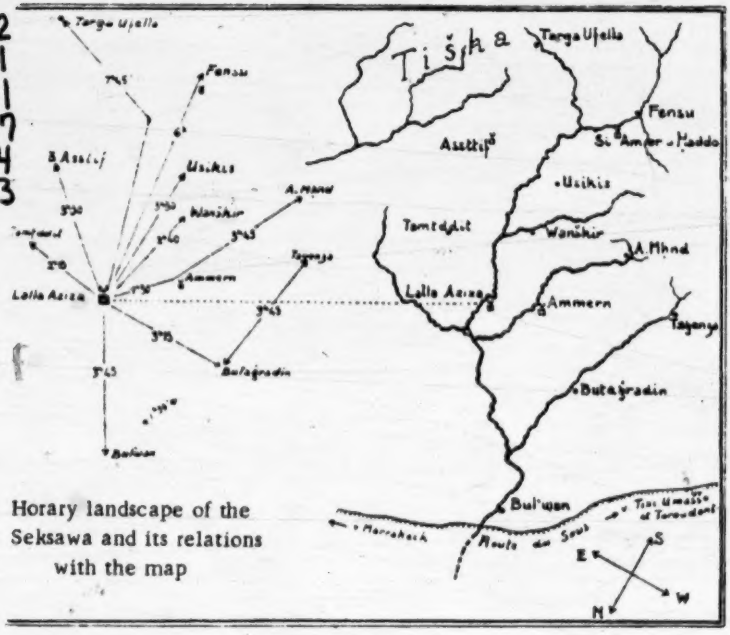
487 484 804 823 The rose of distances appearing in the sketch below (Fig. 3),[1] and whose heart is Lalla Aziza, suggests various reflections which will not be fruitless for understanding the milieu. These durations, calculated in walking time on the path that follows the bed, certainly reflect different factors, such as the difficulty of the terrain, the meanders, the multiplicity of fords, etc. But even more they express, and very exactly, the idea that the Seksawa of all times were able to have about the size of the cantons. And through this we are given most truly the dimensions of a history. What is manifest is the disproportion between the upper branches and the lower part of the rose. One view, based on the concepts of the plain -- and, let us take care here, on what others would the observers, from Ibn Khaldûn to us, base themselves on? -- stresses, be it in knowledge or action, the nearest sectors. The man of the plain loses his zeal to understand or to intervene in the same proportion as the distance increases and his eyes become weary on the snowy background. But one authentic view, the one that this society itself has, places the main point, on the contrary, high above, in the inviolate lair, the best defended in any case from intelligence /in the original text, double quotation marks follow the word renseignement, intelligence, information/ by the relief, legend, and an uncertainty

[1] [For figure 3, see p.24--Analyst]

/14 cont./

487 gradually becoming opaque. The low valley will be only a cor-
484 ridor, an outlet, an appendix, or any other metaphorical equiva-
804 lent that one might wish to apply to it.
823 Consequently, how much is not explained by either the his-
tory of the fourteenth century, which shows us the expansion
coming from the highlands, or the more recent history, which
has reconstituted on these same altitudes, thanks to the conquering
177 afflux of people from the South, new bases of expansion! /15/ In
178 the same way, the true Seksawa life will only keep its accuracy,
804 in a space with its measure and according to its heart, far from

102
131
361
487
804
823



Horary landscape of the Seksawa and its relations with the map

FIG. 3

[Idaw Geryun]
[Ait H'adduyws]

619 131 634 613 /42 cont./ The I. Geryun, with the valley of Uzaga, shelter one of the branches of the most authentic Seksawa lineage: the proper descendants of the kings mentioned by Ibn Khaldûn in the fourteenth century: the a. D'alh'a, whose family archives will furnish important information for this research.

[217] [127]

/43/ Ait H'adduyws: "King's Sons"

133 101 634 487 One goes up the Seksawa by way of a dizzy path on the right bank. After Tasselli, one skirts some cliffs of 200 to 300 meters. Then one descends again, to the confluent of Imi y-Ikis, at the height of which the séguia of the Idma breaks off from the riverbed. The taking of it has already been done by the a. H'adduyws: whence a permanent menace and indeed wars of former times. The path then goes up again. Once the crest has been reached, the Tizi n-Kennas, the panorama of the chain, forming the horizon to the S., lies open at one stroke. It is colossal. The least of these summits, Ras Mulay Âli, Aziwal, Temt'daden, exceed 3,000 meters. At the feet of the traveler, the village of Igersafen, "between two rivers," forms something like the center of a fertile crescent. In fact, two valleys converge there: that of the I. Geryun, descending from the Tichka, where one perceives the grandiose denticulation to the E.; that of the principal branch of the Seksawa, which plunges to the S. and with which our visitor is going to be concerned.

[721]

133 101 634 [769] [349] [776] [197] 173 The somber landscape of schist becomes brighter. One is now in limestone tending toward pink and blue. The valley opens into esplanades larger than one will encounter in all the rest of the valley. In the center, a cupola, that of an eponymous saint, or rather that of the eponym's son, this H'addô u Yûsuf, from whom the taqbilt is supposed to have descended. Orthographic snobbery has in fact reacted on the pronunciation. This tends to impose an a. H'addô u Yûsuf which it readily distorts in paroxytone. Yûsuf would be the own son of Ibn Tachfin the Almoravide. Fine improbability. A prudent orthodoxy, but of late epoch, has camouflaged in antedating it by a century, by reference to the

[Ait H'adduyws]

/44 cont./

173 634 619 archeological tenor. The families issued from the great ancestor, the a. D'alh'a, occupy several villages and, in the native view, contribute no little in adorning the country with a discreet, secret, but real touch of authenticity. Vestiges of the past, they remain the support of a legitimacy depending on the Seksawa, [613] from which the other founders benefit little or much. A lineage authentic and allogeneous, today all are sons of H'addδ. Immaterial factors, whose action on these montagnards should not be minimized, have imposed their truce here: perhaps the force attached to this saint, yet left out of the rites, almost forgotten, but who is nonetheless "the great ancestor."

133 487 175 166 167 It is a completely different impression that is made on the traveler who, leaving the valley, climbs the Tizi n-Tbgurt (2,650 meters). To his right the Tizi n-Trga opens a difficult but indispensable passage toward the Sous. It is this route that was taken in the course of the last centuries by the invaders coming from the Anti-Atlas to take the place of the old dying populations. And it is from there that they spread toward the N. From the flanks of the Tabgurt, several avenues in fact radiate toward the plain; they have remained the habitat of the new men: a. M'hnd, a. Lh'sen, Idma. Toward the N. and the N.-W. arch 133 101 634 the highlands separating the constitutive valleys of the asif n.•a. Lh'sen. The eye follows their outlines up to the bar of the Bwibaun; in the axis, at a distance, appears, by means of an opening, the tabular relief of the Dwiran. To the N.-E. descend the terraces of Agersili. From there, the landscape bifurcates, one might say, into crossroads. /45/ It is in these divergent directions that the history of the peoples coming from the Sous is spread out. Thus one might wonder if the political axis which now coincides with the valley has not changed through the ages.

"Cantons" Par Excellence

101 184 634 619 Here we are in the immured confines of the Seksawa world. And even these people here are no longer Seksawa. They are vassalized Demsira. Last remains of the encroachments made by their people at an unknown time on all the lower Seksawa, up to

[Imt'ddan]

133 101 634 [487] [176] /51 cont./ The trail, even on the col, passes between a threshing floor and a pile of stones, tarrut', which each passer-by augments. That is a "mansion," maqām, of Sidi Ah'med u Musa, the great saint of the Tazerwalt. In fact, it was a small group from there that founded its tiny capital 500 meters lower, on the right flank of the ravine. Then it spread to the river, appropriating the enormous block of mountains that point to the Tamjlocht, above the holy place of Z'init', and two valleys oriented N.E.-S.W.

These valleys, which to the E. flank the bar of the Afuzar (2,315 meters), suffer from an intense desolation. They give vent 175 726 619 to the painful memories of the war led by the Imt'ddan and their Idma allies against the former occupants, the a. Gasa, today driven back behind the Afuzar. Although the conquest took place during the eighteenth century, it seems that the old curse that /52/ pursued the vanquished still weighs on the country. More 133 101 634 [134] materially, it seems that this canton has not recovered from the battles, which must have interrupted the work of retention of the slopes, thus liberating the downward flow of the streams. That carried the arable soil toward the bottom and delivered these lands to the merciless shock of the storms. Even now one is struck by the decadence of the country. One of the valleys, the one that climbs from Tagonit toward Rekto, contains sterile stretches, [172] imlalen, and cliffs of an intense degradation. The ruins of Rekto, formerly an important village of the a. Gasa and their last refuge before the total eviction, adds to the melancholy of the site. The other valley, called Tmlelt from Tagonit, keeps some poor almond trees. But up to the cul-de-sac that terminates it, upstream from Tamt'ddit, it offers the distressing spectacle of a torrent bed used with nonchalant and seemingly discouraged techniques: portions ruined by the carting of stones, modest basins or rather "water holes," tafrawt, unstable channels: all a function of a sudden flow, one feels, to be changed in a torrential descent. Be- [132] tween the two extremes of the storm, which carries everything away, and the dryness, which destroys the seed, the ambition of the husbandman amounts to a kind of groping. At Tagonit a [172] half-collapsed tower, put in the middle of the bed, indicates the

174
• 487
619

/74 cont./

There exists a path called Tagharast i-ysseksawan (1),

1. Another Tagharast leads from the zaouia of Ammern to the a. Musa by disregarding the river valley. There are other examples of these "reserve" paths, the existence of which undoubtedly expresses phases of rivalry between populations ruling the river and populations ruling the forest. But we know too little of the past of the Atlas to get further involved on a course nevertheless indeed suggestive.

direct, but difficult communication between Usikis, original cradle of Idma power, and the confluent of the two highest valleys, the "between rivers," Igersafen. Thus, while avoiding the great valley, the high Seksawa and the historical center of dispersion that one can locate on the North counterforts of the Tabgurt could communicate. This liaison with the archaic system of the Tichka is certainly very important.

It indicates an era when the Moyen /Middle/ Seksawa, because of hostile occupants or for some other reason, had to be avoided. One might consequently wonder if this axis, disregarding the river path and capable of leading to Lalla Aziza by way of the plateau of the Mzawt, was not anterior to the present political configurations.

If we put it in relation to the initial system of the Idma, straddling the Tassila, the Agersili basin, the Inraren Z'dinin plateau, and the ravines that radiate from it, this impression is reinforced. The Idma tradition has it that, at a certain time, [34] Idaw Geryun (we mean the oldest Seksawa, whom the ait D'alh'a still represent today) and Idma by turns elected a moqaddem yearly; the Tagharast permitted the direct displacement of the jemâa-s to the place of the election. However that may be, beyond the articulation of a geographical complex that history confirms, we can quite legitimately imagine that the settling of the Idma must have been authorized by the patronage of the former

1: Berque--104 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/74 cont./

487 174 619 masters, men and saints; and it is not without interest that the legend, the topography, and the archeology contribute to making one presume direct communication between sidi Âmer u H'addo, Lalla Aziza, and the first metropolises of the conqueror. It is by these constellations of forces, political and religious, that the elimination of the a. Gasa was made possible.

Legitimist Conquerors

The Achievement of the Idma

173 166 619 "From the south comes royalty," proclaims a Chleuh /Shluh/ song (2).

2. Justinard, "Notes sur l'histoire du Sous au XVI^e s. /Notes on the history of the Sous in the sixteenth century/," A.M., XXIX, 1934, p. 84.

And that is true of this part of Morocco, whose masters have come from the Anti-Atlas, or from even farther away. That can be judged by /75/ the history of a taqbilt with a rapacious and cunning personality, the Idma.

173 175 619 Tradition has them going back to a sherif from the Anti-Atlas. On the periphery of the Lkst, one in fact recognizes some Tudma. The al-Mançûr expedition (1580) subjugated some a. Tudma (1).

1. Justinard, Kunnâch tr., in Notes sur l'histoire du Sous au XVI^e siècle, 1934, pp. 171, 179, 182. The Toudma can still be spotted even today in the same place.

In Ammeln, some shorfa of the same name are exempt from tribute. One of their families is that of the Awlâd sidi ᶜAt'â'illah, among whom a certain Sidi Abû Zakariyâ, now buried in H'âh'a, was a contemporary of the golden Sâadian, who sent him back to Fès /Fez/. All of this is affirmed by

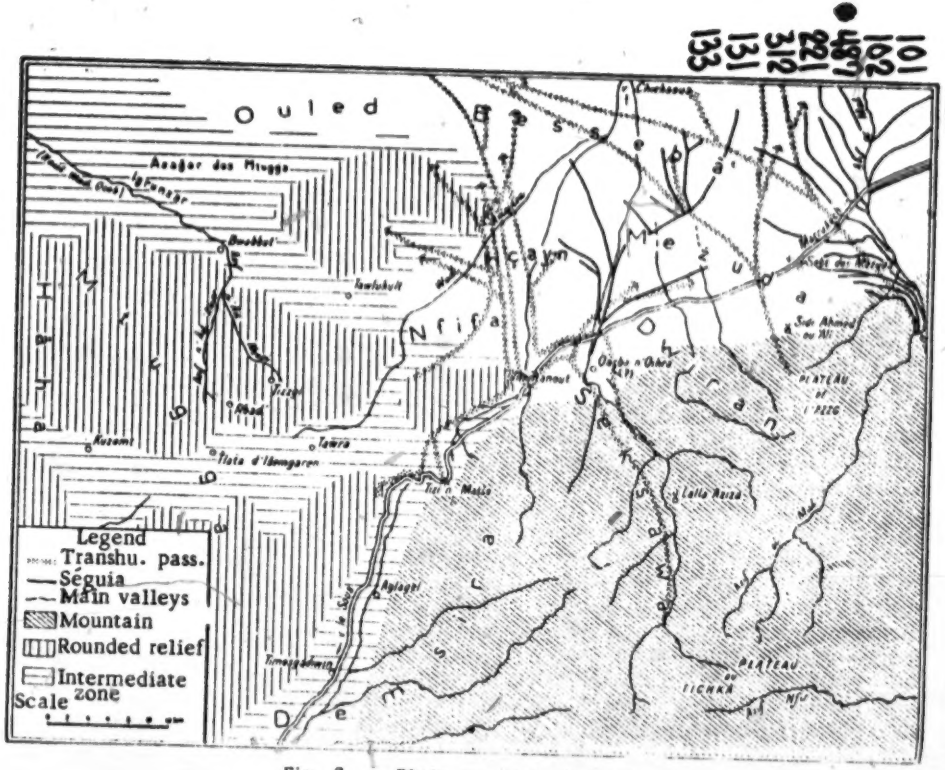


Fig. 6. -- Plain-mountain liaisons

1: Berque--138 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shlub MW11

/101 cont./

317 438 439 [487] Among the economic determinants that make the mountain depend on the plain, let us mention in the very first place salt (2).

2. The salt route is as important for the montagnards as, on an entirely different scale, that of spices was for the medieval Occident: at bottom a question of cuisine!

[262] [263] In nourishment based on flat cakes and porridge, the importance of condiments is considerable. It is not exaggerating to see in this, much more than in the cereals, the most imperious servitude of the montagnard with regard to the outside. By food, in fact, the whole balance of family life is affected: potent motive, although originating from obscure causes toward which observation is too rarely inclined. The Seksawa mountain is destitute of salt. [443] Even today it is seen in huge /102/ whitish or pink piles at the souq /sook/ of Imintanout. It comes from the Idaw Isaren, in H'ah'a, and from the far-away lagoons of the Inzzuyma, called by us "Lac Zima." Two qualities, one of which, very bitter to the taste, is naturally preferred by the montagnards for their animals and themselves. If therefore, classical method in the old Moroccan chronicles, the power of the plain blockades the Seksawa, or hems them in at the border markets, it is the salt route that it cuts for them, even more harshly than that of barley (1).

1. An example, dating from the beginning of the eighteenth century, in Justinard, La Rihla du Marabout de Tasaft /The Rihla of the Marabout of Tasaft/, 1940, pp. 37 sq.

243 In fact, the high valleys devote to cereal cultivation a portion that astonishes us, because it involves what would appear, in a strict economy, as a waste of land and water, and especially of labor. But they gain from it what we might call a flywheel /Fr. volant/ of security. Cereal cultivation with great expense, with great feelings: one will see all that such feelings can have to be

/116 cont./

000 etc., failed, hardly later than 1930, to start a violent conflict
175 In the hegemonic action of the Mtuggi, the control of the
221 of transhumance and of the markets of the Dir gave the adva-
233 tage to the power of the plain, which used it wonderfully well to
[628] negotiate: shrewd discriminations, flexible finances, preferential
tariffs, all with a wide margin of abuse and individual transac-
[178] tion. These traits have disappeared since the pacification. By
[481] the same stroke some routes of transhumance have been aban-
doned, the security opening other, more advantageous ones.
"That is why the Idaw Mh'mud abandoned the pasturages of the
Mtugga, why the A. H'adduyws gave up the [illegible] of the Dwiran to
go to pasture on the Jbayl. These two former routes of transhu-
mance, indicated by M. J. Dresch, were no longer being used
already in 1941, when the work mentioning them appeared. It
[669] is even probable that the second was used only exceptionally in
the acute periods of the siba (1)."

1. Unpublished study by L. Robine on La transhumance dans la région d'Imintanout, 1949. Our debt with regard to him is considerable for this part of the account.

571 This "fiscality" of the great caids -- anachronistic word, of
431 course -- leads one to envisage the relations between the trans-
233 humant and his correspondent in the plain: çaheb or amddak-
221 k^{w}el. Whether they /117/ were individual or group, they no
longer arise from a debated contract, but from the exchange of
favors or of "sweetnesses," to speak like these rural people.
Hence, an ensemble of relations calling for, on the part of the
man of the plain, security for the montagnard and authorization
to share the pasture, in a general collective: it is a provisional
naturalization. The montagnard assumes the attitude of the
grateful beneficiary and of the protégé. At the time of his ar-
rival, he presents luqfa (from an Arabic root signifying "to set up"
/Fr. dresser/, corresponding to the Chleuh /Shluh/ sbidd, a verb
used in the expression sbidd l^{c}ar, "to enjoin riturally" -- but here

/303/cont./

776 B. Bûbker buried at Ad'erd'ur. Thus, very lively local individuality, at the same time as participation in a movement of minds that is attested to us for the Sous in the sixteenth century.

792 The zaouia, where half the present inhabitants call themselves /304/ descendants of Sidi Lah'sen, is set up under the walnut trees, in the bottom of a hollow that the denuded mass of the [172] Afuzar oppresses. Ground of a terrible dryness. The ravine that [487] unites it with the valley is full of calcined ruins of former a. Gasa villages. To the South, a steep path connects it to Ikis by way of a sparse forest of small oaks. On the side of the Afuzar one sees the abrupt col of the Meggayed'. On the other side are the [634] Gedmiwa, or at least their high cantons, where the remainder of [794] the conquered took refuge. Far within the other tribe, the zaouia collects its chchard'. It thus forms the junction between two systems, separated today, but which the old history, revealed by an always young hagiology, united. A number of students from beyond the crest come here. And the zaouia owns property in a. Gasa. So many signs of a former straddling of both sides of the 776 Afuzar. The saints, whose service skips over the precarious hu- 174 man limits, often set the researcher on the track of ancient solidarities. We can lay out, with what tradition knows of their itineraries, of their perimeters of attraction or of radiation, a veritable cartographic document.

776 The intellectuality of the origins of the house of Assttif has been perpetuated up to our day. It has even had a fqîha, Lalla Fad'ma, an expert in Mudawwana. Above all, it has given birth, and even of our day, to a saint: Sidi Muh'ammed u Âbdallah, of 776 whom there will be talk later. Highly integrated with the ag- 634 gressive history of the Idma, it has not ceased to lend them its [666] support as patron, guarantor, and arbiter. It presided over the elections of chiefs at Inraren Z'dinin. Its border position allowed [631] it to extend its political action far to the E. In the recent period, at the time of the development of the power of the great caids, it thus played a certain role in favor of the hegemony of the Mtugga.

776 It has always avoided, as we have noted, being integrated 796 with the naturist feasts of other Seksawa saints. Its orthodox

1: Berque--651 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

133
241
312
487

(Photo by airplane, by I. G. N.)

The ground of Agersili:

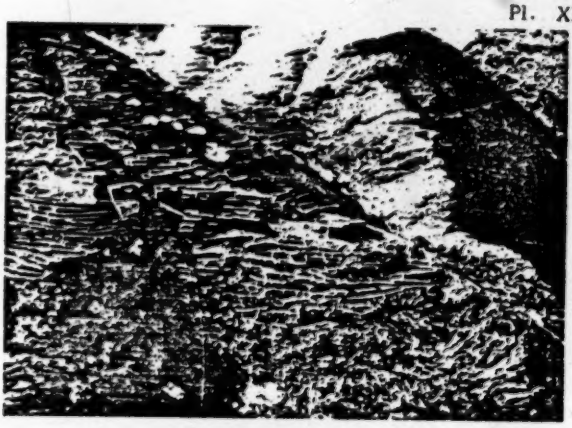
/The complete caption for Pl. VI is given on p. 652./

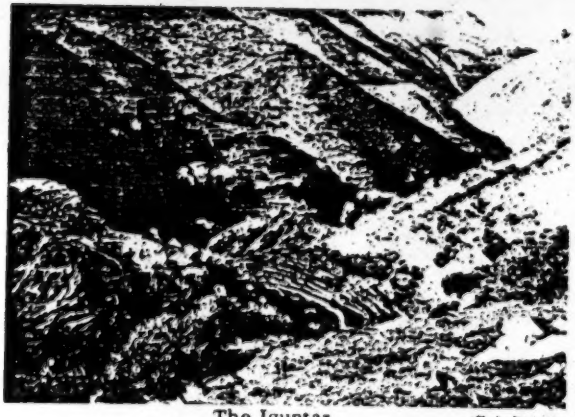
142 Plate V: Seksawa women.
222 (1) Young mother carrying her baby. Note (2) the pectoral,
291 tifilit, and the frontal, tawunza, made from small pieces of
292 silver. This jewelry is most often part of the property of the
301 woman, and of her contribution to the household, jihâz; (3)
302 little girl returning from the spring. The top of the cranium is
415 shaved until the little girl is nubile; (4) ah'wach of young girls:
462 finery of tassels of red silk and of foulards hanging down in the
854 back; (5) the gathering of wild or subspontaneous plants, for the
857 nourishment of man or livestock, constitutes an important part of the activities of the woman.

133 Plate VI: The ground of Agersili.
241 The winding white line at the bottom of the photograph is
312 the present trail, and the mountainous wrinkle toward the top,
487 the one that ends at Awrir Uluggu. Ravines on the right descend from the counterforts of the Tabgurt and end, on the left, at a capture, with a waterfall, called Aguni Wanehkir. The two slopes of the central ravine are notched with terraces. One sees distinctly, at the limit of the irrigation toward the bottom of the photograph, the winding dark line of the great left-bank séguia called Targa n-Tsila or T. Umerdul: after having cleared Agersili, it cuts across the trail (last winding line on the left) in order to go to the side of Ad'erd'ur. On the right bank, the two villages of dry stone, Tawrirt and Agerdayan, are almost confused with the surrounding rocks. The smoothed reliefs at the bottom of the photograph are those of the Chaif Aqqiunan, which are joined to those of the Tasila. At Agersili 27 large irrigated quarters are crowded on a section of ravine of less than two km.

1: Berque--659 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

133
241
361





The Iguntar (Cl. L. Berque)

These two photographs, in upper Tagenza, in lower Tannemmert, follow from upstream to downstream. To the right of the village of Tagenza, ruins of an agadir, destroyed by the caid Lmokhtar. This panorama offers all the elements of the cadre of life of a high-valley taqbilt: the agglomerations, the irrigated terraces, in dark; the dry terraces, lighter, themselves dominated by albur crops. A path goes along the right flank of the valley, at mid-slope, in a downstream direction.

[192]
[712]
[343]
[487]

/16 cont./

133 491 [492] more than 3,000 meters of altitude with their mules, difficult roads that, in addition, are enlivened by the passage of the women, children, and flocks.

[233] [438] The transhumance of the sheep and goats, the exchange of the walnuts, wool, and almonds of the high valleys for the grain, tea, sugar, and manufactured objects from the souks /sooks/ of the Dir maintain the continuity of these relations. The activity observed on these crests during the days of spring and summer is enough to make one understand the importance of the bonds that unite plain and mountain.

In vain does the internal partitioning of the valleys, which the successive tiers of the Atlas cut up into separate basins and seal up by gorges, isolate the villages one from another. In * [634] [578] [437] spite of the reciprocal hostility of the Berbère /Berber/ cantons on the same route of passage, one sees alliances established at great distances, from the North to the South, in the direction followed by the transverse routes of the mountains. The small states of the summits are associated with the villages of the last slopes or of the plain in the same way.

361 628 On the other hand, relations are difficult between villages established at the same altitude in the parallel valleys, and only goat paths permit passing from one to the other; besides, since • [487] [438] economic exchanges between the neighboring populations who live under identical conditions are of no interest, one understands that the political horizon of the small mountain states, so extended toward the North or toward the South, in the direction of the plain of Marrakech or the interior plain of the Sous, is, on the other hand, toward the East or toward the West limited for each of them to the closest villages.

491 VIII. The mountain massifs. -- The role of these great routes of passage that cross the two chains is not only /17/ to facilitate the moving of people and economic activity. They [184] cut the Atlas and Anti-Atlas into separate massifs, inside which the material and social life of the tribes takes on peculiar forms, which give each of them a true originality and explain the